## Message Text

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R 210908Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9926
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 7949

EO 11652: GDS TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR SUBJ: SHAH GIVES WARNING AND PROMISES TO DISSIDENTS BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

SUMMARY: IN PRESS CONFERENCE AUG 17 WITH IRANIAN EDITORS.
SHAH WARNED THAT HE AND ARMY WOULD NOT PERMIT RECURRENCE OF 1953 CIVIL DISORDER. ON THE OTHER HAND, RECENT DISTURBANCES, WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO ISLAMIC MARXISTS, WOULD NOT HALT LIBERALIZATION. NEW LEGISLATION AFTER SUMMER RECESS WILL GUARANTEE FREEDOM OF PRESS, SPEECH, AND ASSEMBLY WITHIN BOUNDS OF NATIONAL LAWS. HE REAFFIRMED THAT OPPOSITION CANDIDATES MAY RUN IN NEXT ELECTION BUT DID NOT SAY WHETHER OPPOSITION PARTIES WOULD BE ALLWED. HE HAS ISSUED ORDERS BARRING MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY FROM PARTICIPATING IN BUSINESS VENTURES OR MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOI OFFICIALS. HE DENIED RUMORS OF ILL HEALTH. END SUMMARY.

1. ON EVE OF CELEBRATION OF TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF CONFIDENTIAL

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1953 NATIONAL UPRISING, SHAH DISCUSSED CIVIL UNREST AND FUTURE OF LIBERALIZATION PROGRAM WITH IRANIAN MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES. AFTER REMINISCING ABOUT EVENTS OF AUGUST 1953, SHAH MADE FOLLOWING POINTS REGARDING PRESENT AND FUTURE:

2. RIOTS ARE WORK OF ISLAMIC MARXISTS. HE CITED NO

FOREIGN POWERS, BUT SAID LOGANS CARRIED BY RIOTERS SHOWED WHO WAS BEHIND THEM. AS IN 1953, COMMUNISTS ARE TRYING TO MAKE IRAN INTO "IRANISTAN", BUT "THE PATRIOTS, THE ARMED FORCES AND I WILL NOT LET THEM EXECUTE THEIR PLOT." WHILE HE TOOK A LONG TIME TO ACT IN 1953, "THE SITUATION IS DRASTICALLY DIFFERENT NOW." HE HAD CONSIDERED RIOTS TO BE PRICE OF DEMOCRATIZATION, BUT "I DID NOT THINK THIS PRICE WOULD BE SO HIGH." COMMUNISTS ARE OFFERING THE GREAT TERROR IN CONTRAST WITH HIS GREAT CIVILIZATION.

3. LIBERALIZATION PROGRAM WILL CONTINUE. FIRST BILLS
TO BE SUBMITTED TO MAJLES AFTER SUMMER RECESS WILL PROVIDE
GUARANTEES FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, AND ASSEMBLY.
"IT IS YOUR DUTY, AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESS, TO
DISTINGUISH BETWEEN FREE EXPRESSION AND LIBEL, BETWEEN
CRITICISM AND SLANDER." SHAH STATED THAT OTHER CAUSES
OF DISATISFACTION MAY TAKE TIME TO CORRECT--FOR EXAMPLE,
GOI HAS COMPILED "HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CASES OF
PROFITEERING," AND IT WOULD TAKE TEN YEARS TO DEAL WITH
THEM, UNLESS GOI CHOOSES TO WRITE THEM OFF, ON UNDER-STANDING THAT PROFITEERS HAVE LEARNED THEIR LESSON. SHAH
EMPHASIZED ECONOMIC PROGRESS AS FULFILLING A HUMAN RIGHT,
"THE RIGHT TO HAVE EMPLOYMENT". AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES
AND INDUSTRIAL PROFIT-SHARING ARE FURTHER EXAMPLES OF
EXPANSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

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4. ELECTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE AS SCHEDULED. OPPOSITION CANDIDATES MAY RUN FOR MAJLES, PROVIDED THYE ACCEPT THE OATH TAKEN BY ALL NEW MAJLES REPRESENTATIVES: "WE --- TAKE GOD AS WITNESS AND SWEAR ON THE HOLY KORAN TO---BE SINCERE AND TRUTHFUL TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE SHAHANSHAH... AND TO REFRAIN FROM BETRAYING THE FOUNDATION OF THE THRONE AND THE RIGHTS OF THE NATION." SHAH REQUESTED PRESS TO PRINT OATH, ADDING "I HAVE NOTHING TO SAY IF THEY ABIDE BY IT." ASKED WHETHER FURTHER RIOTS MIGHT CAUSE POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS, SHAH LEFT SOME ROOM FOR DOUBT: "I WISH TWO POINTS WILL HAVE BECOME CLEAR BY THE TIME OF THE ELCTIONS: THE FIRST ONE IS WHETHER THE GOVERNEMENT HAS THE POWER TO PRESERVE LAW AND ORDER; THE SECOND ONE IS THE CODE OF ALL KINDS OF FREEDOM WHICH IS THE FIRST BILL TO BE SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT AFTER THE SUMMER RECESS." HE WARNED: "IF, DESPITE ALL THE CIVIL, INDIVIDUAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES THEY, ARE TO ENJOY... THEY STILL REFUSE TO QUIET DOWN, THEN WHAT ARE WE SUPPOSED TO DO? I DO NOT NEED TO SPELL IT OUT. YOU CAN READILY COME UP WITH THE ANSWER." (COMMENT: PRESS NOTED THIS COULD MEAN CHANGE IN LIBERALIZATION PLANS BUT SAW IT AS REAFFIRMATION OF GOI DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD DESPITE HEAVY SLEDDING.)

- 5. RASTIKHIZ PARTY NO LONGER EXPECTED TO BE PARTY OF ALL IRANIANS. "NOW THAT WE ARE PROGRESSING TOWARDS MAXIMUM ENJOYMENT OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, WE DON NOT EXPECT 100 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION TO JOIN THE RASTIKHIZ." THOSE WHO WISH MAY PARTICIPATE IN POLITICS OUTSIDE RASTIKHIZ. SHAH STOPPED SHORT OF SAYING, HOWEVER, THAT DISSIDENTS MAY ORGANIZE INTO COMPETING PARTIES. ASKED WHETHER WINGS OF RASTIKHIZ MIGHT BECOME INDEPENDENT ASSOCATIONS, SHAH SAID IT WAS A LIGITIMATE QUESTION WHICH RASTIKHIZ PARTY SHOULD CONSIDER.
- 6. IMPERIAL DECREE REGARDING BUSINESS DEALINGS BY MEMBERS OF ROYAL FAMILY WAS CONFIRMED AFTER QUESTIONER RAISED THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ISSUE. (EMBASSY COMMENT: COURT MINISTER REPORTEDLY PLANTED THIS QUESTION.). NO MEMBER OF IMPERIAL FAMILY MAY PARTICIPATE IN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE BUSINESS VENTURES OR MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TO GOI OFFICIALS ON THEIR OWN BEHALF OR THAT OF OTHERS.

- 7. SHAH'S HEALTH IS EXCELLENT DESPITE RUMORS TO CONTRARY. (EMBASSY COMMENT: CHARGE NOTED SHAH APPEARED FIT AND WELL AT AUDIENCE AUG 13.)
- 8. ARMED FORCES OF IRAN WILL BE READY IN FIVE YEARS TO DEFEND A NATION OF FORTY MILLION.

END UNCLASSIFIED. BEGONFIDENTIAL.

COMMENT: DESPITE WINNING HEADLINES "NO SLOWDOWN TO
LIBERALIZATION" IN TEHRAN JOURNAL, SHAH IMPLIED THAT
FUTURE POLICY DEPENDS ON RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE OF CITIZENRY.
HE INDICATED THAT IF NEW OPENNESS IN PUBLIC EXPRESSION AND
IN MAJLES ELECTIONS CREATES EXTENSIVE TROUBLE RATHER THAN
PROGRESS, HE HAS NECESSARY FORCE TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL
SECURITY. AUG. 19 ABADAN THEATRE DISASTER (TEHRAN 7900
NOTAL) HAS STIFFENED GENERAL NATIONAL MOOD ON QUESTION OF
VIOLENCE. FURTHER COMMENT WILL FOLLOW.

10. TEXT OF PRESS COVERAGE BEING POUCHED. NAAS

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NNN

Sheryl P. Walter	Declassified/Released	US Department of State	EO Systematic Review	20 Mar 2014

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